946 companionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to
her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a
889 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified,
and the birth takes place in the room itself. The mother takes up a kneeling
posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended
by her friends, and a midwife (*ilpatuwa*) assists at the birth. The men retire
outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the
sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe
are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some
friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*kura*), and requests that the babe, if
it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among
other purposes he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on
the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin,
and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the
towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take
as names the saint names of the calendar, their father's name passing as a
surname.

946 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
953 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

● 428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other
587 property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother,
who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest
brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed
among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first
married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to
the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present
day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has
already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals,
birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged
to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find
numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by
some distinguishing adjective, as *Nakani*, tiger; *Nakanisale*, red tiger; *Nakanitigari*,
leaping tiger; *Loora*, lioness; *Mavilaua*, ten lionesses; *Lowaiaua*, lioness's head;
Vila, snake; *Quilavila*, three snakes; *Colavila*, red snake, etc., etc. These names
have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children
other names at baptism.

613 The Aroosans believe they originally descended from the animals whose
names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

9:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

424 and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Moesbach, ibid.). There is no trace among the Araucanians of the system of periodic allotment of gardening land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Peru and probably of the Piedmont of far northern Chile (Mellafe, 1888, pp. 299, 304).

428 Inheritance.—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1878, p. 141). When an elder man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came to together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Havestadt, 1883, 2:621; Molina, 1901, p. 132). (On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

437 Exchange.—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Febrés, 1882, s.v. dübüle; Havestadt, 1883, pp. 616-17; Smith, 1855, pp. 288, 292.) Havestadt states (1883, 2:700) that llamas (llaskas) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for murders, and Molina (1901, p. 106) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (kvllin) consisting of a horse or bridle as "one payment," an ox as "two payments," etc., but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" trade with, e.g., the *Pwelche* for salt, hammocks, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling ponchos and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Marino de Lovera (1865, p. 126) states that tthe "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and feasts, served as places for buying and selling goods and [women—incidentally, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings therein.

476 Labor.—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end [he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and she in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them head similar need.

412 To the men fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, , all woodworking, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The woman's work included cultivating the garden, [preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of [blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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invited also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; 342
ratonera (pl. 54, *1*) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct; informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had destroyed most of it. Substitutes for ratonera are chupón, huiruahue, [824]
reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting the thatch, others strip twigs off the collihue poles; some begin to erect the framework, others tie the collihue poles to the framework, and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is done with sinet voqui (pl. 54, *1*). Nearly all the men lend a hand when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with roots eastward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and is secured in position by means of voqui applied with a twining technique. Once the thatch is in place, collihue poles are fastened horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka usually takes a day.

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by [462]
the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal. "After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful sun, if I had a nice moon, I would enter into this house to greet the wife of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to intoxication.

A 33-year old Cañaripe man explained the building of the split-log [177]
roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche copied these from the Chilenos," he noted. "Peeled logs are split lengthwise and a good portion of the core removed. A row of these split, hollowed-out logs is laid across the roof leaving space between them to allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second row of the split hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath it. In this position the logs are a watershed, give ventilation, and allow the smoke to find a way out."

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belong- [428]
ing to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it, and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at the time of her death.

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings 354
are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and warmth As well.

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

Ill:Faron E-8 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1900)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Pailiao	181	32	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	48	c. 6.3 ha.
Huenchaual	109	88	c. 1.1 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of radicación (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

II:Farm E-3 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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times to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *minguco*, although *rueña mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *minguco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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562 423 177 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 423 562 177 [556] [591] Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property—at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 621 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of [428] [423] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact depends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured—that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 521 589 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

[6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities, although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with, even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and these changes are related intimately to the changing economic structure with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricultural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority. Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores – in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must often be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

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riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise – a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[7] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

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[7] [i.e.–Children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather–Analyst]

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Marriage may be further solemnized by Catholic rites, important less for the religious significance than because church registration and the civil registration which accompanies Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers.

Kuryewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* involves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set.

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare.

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence.

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan domo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved.

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally.

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ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land.

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage.

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak – they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen.

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While the Mapuche enter into half-dozen agreements among themselves, the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. Mingaco is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with more longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, nillatun. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, so far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances mingaco are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents mingaco or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

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munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect.

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often

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they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. Their situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ülkatufe*) at the *ülkatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially honoured during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

Nor is the problem of *division* as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reemergent or reoriented Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which strictly converges on the ascertained. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—to take three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action.

The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships

As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day cooperative enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities.

The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which reflect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply.

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild.

As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons.

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sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These include the right to land and house site, the right to participate in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they were to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry (connected with his control over land), and conducted game activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-generational household. In many cases, there are extended family groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father formed a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among heirs which called the lineage relationship.

Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a man's sons. There are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family. There are sufficient exceptions to this description of conditions, however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

When we move into the sphere of Mapuche society,

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community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of the entire community.

Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being practised for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible, although one may expect certain antagonism to result in the practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other related objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder by witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practise sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practised by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be satisfied with ejecting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but between members of its branches. The members of sibling-age—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an extended family group. The greatest danger to sibling-age solidarity results from land shortage, which affects not so much subsistence (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who